1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teŭbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if
[648] available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[45] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [262] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but [431] was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people [431] were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [583] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a [834] courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift 584 to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the [535] custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

[P.352, B]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

[P. 364, A] In

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 153, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

● 585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dáŋal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 575

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [573] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."